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THE PRAIRIE
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INDIANS OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES
(An Historical Review)

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Indian Affairs Branch
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INDIANS OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

In the eighteenth century, while the Canadian Northwest was still a hinterland, five tribes of Indians lived on the plains – Blackfoot, Assiniboiné, Sarcee, Gros Ventre and Kootenay. North of the plains were the Slave, Beaver and Chipewyan and to the Northeast were the Cree and Ojibwa, the latter also known as Chippewa or Saulteaux.

Around 1800 the Gros Ventre retired southward into the United States and the Kootenay crossed the Rocky Mountains westward into British Columbia.

The Blackfoot Confederacy, of Algonquian stock, occupied territories stretching from the Rocky Mountains well into Saskatchewan and from the North Saskatchewan River to the Missouri. The Confederacy comprised three groups: the Blackfoot proper, the Blood and the Peigan. Each group was an independent unit with its own head-chief and council; but all shared common customs, traditions and language, and there was frequent inter-marriage. The small tribe of the Sarcee, of Athapaskan stock, affiliated with the Blackfoot for protection although they spoke another tongue. The Assiniboiné, a Siouan tribe, centered about the Assiniboiné River valley. The Stony Indians are descendants of them.

The Cree Indians originally lived within the woodlands to the north and east of the plains. However, attracted by the buffalo and welcomed as allies by the Assiniboiné Indians, they migrated westward displacing the northern Blackfoot from the territory along the North Saskatchewan River.

The Chippewa occupied Manitoba east of Turtle Mountain and the Red River valley from 1736 onward.

Descendants of the American Sioux Indians from Dakota now occupy reserves in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The Sioux took refuge in Canada in 1862 and 1876.

The Slave, Beaver and Chipewyan Indians belong to the Athapaskan linguistic group. The Slaves occupied the extreme northerly parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Beaver lived south of them in the Peace River district. The Chipewyan lived in the Churchill River valley and around Athabaska and Great Slave Lakes.

The buffalo was the basis of economy for the Indians who lived on the plains and they hunted it summer and winter. They made pemmican from its meat, dried and pounded on stones and, when possible, mixed with berries. The buffalo hide furnished robes and tents, and tools and weapons were made from the bones. In early times clay pots were used for cooking but after horses were acquired the fragile clay vessels were discarded in favour of strips of hide supported by stakes, which were filled with water and hot stones to boil the meat.

The shirt, breech-cloth, and leggings worn by the men were made of antelope skin, and the moccasins and robes were of buffalo hide. The summer costume for men was breech-cloth and moccasins. Women wore long shirts reaching nearly to the ankles and short leggings. The children's clothes resembled those of the parents. Children dispensed with clothes in summer until they were around six years of age.

Men and women both wore feathers in the hair, the golden eagle feather being a mark of distinction reserved for the man who had killed a foe in battle. The highest honour of all, achieved by few men, was a train of plumes hanging to the feet.

Ornaments were head-dresses with buffalo horns, bear-claw neck-laces, elk-tooth bracelets, porcupine quill embroidery, and ermine skins sewn to the clothing. Necklaces were also made from berries and seeds and, when obtainable, from shells. The latter were rare and considered valuable.

The plains Indians lived in tipis, large conical tents, each with a narrow opening for a doorway. There was an open fireplace in the center and two ventilators near the peak allowed the smoke to escape. These tipis were used both in summer and winter.

The furniture consisted of buffalo hide couches. Spoons and bowls were made from wood and horn. Hammers and mortars for pounding berries and meat were made from stone, as were knives. Hides were scraped with the sharpened and serrated leg-bone of the elk.

Before the days of horses the plains Indians travelled on foot and crossed rivers by swimming or in tub-like structures fashioned of buffalo hide and willow twigs. They transported tents and other goods in a webbed hoop slung between two poles and harnessed to a dog and later to a horse. This contrivance is known as a "travois" and is used to this day to transport certain sacred medicine bundles in ceremonies connected with the annual Sun Dance.

Until the horse was introduced, early in the eighteenth century, the various groups of plains Indians were fairly peaceful, partly because of the lack of competition for food and space and partly because they were less mobile and therefore less likely to come in contact with each other.

Weapons were bows and arrows, lances, clubs of stone and wooden knobkerries. Shields of painted buffalo hide and jackets of quilted moose leather helped to deflect an arrow or lance.

In pre-European times every plains tribe was made up of several bands wandering over the country separately, each with its own chief. They united two or three times a year for a buffalo hunt or a festival and the most influential band chief became the temporary leader of the tribe.

The plains Indians believed in a Great Spirit whose chief messenger was the sun. They prayed and made offerings to both these deities, and a Sun Dance, a religious festival, was held once a year by each tribe.

War exploits were recorded in a series of pictures painted on buffalo robes or tipi walls. Rawhide bags, used for carrying goods, were painted in geometric designs showing considerable skill in line drawings. Music was confined to singing, with a drum to emphasize the rhythms. The melody of the song was more important than the words, indeed many songs were wordless. There were songs for war, victory, gambling, dancing, religious ceremonies and love.

The northern areas were sparsely settled as is the case today. Fish and game were the basic foods, the only vegetable food being such berries as blueberries, crowberries and cranberries. In the western mountain area, caribou, sheep and goats were found and there were herds of buffalo in the Peace River Valley. The most plentiful fish was whitefish which was found in all the lakes.

The northern Indians were skilful in the use of nets, snares and traps. The fish-nets were made of willow bark or thongs of caribou hide and larger nets were used for catching beaver. Caribou were often caught in pounds set with strong snares, or speared in the water from canoes. Musk-oxen were pursued and shot with arrows.

Clothing consisted of a shirt and leggings of caribou skin, decorated with porcupine quill embroidery. The moccasins were joined to the leggings. In winter the costume was doubled and, when the weather was very cold, cloaks of caribou, beaver, groundhog or other fur were worn thrown over the shoulders.

Porcupine quill embroidery was expertly done. The quills were stitched to the garment individually or a strip of quills was woven on a crude loom, then sewn on like applique work. The quills were coloured with plant dyes and woven into geometric designs.

The summer dwellings were huts made of a conical framework of poles covered with caribou hides, spruce bark or brush. The Chipewyan lived in these huts in winter as well, but most of the tribes built rectangular huts roofed with spruce bark and chinked with moss for the winter months.

There was no furniture but skins were stretched on the ground for sleeping. Baskets woven of spruce roots were used for cooking and trays were made of spruce or birch bark. Spoons and ladles were



Representative of a noble race is Walking Buffalo. He wears the distinctive headdress of the Plains Indians.

Photo — Globe and Mail — Toronto



On the Peigan Reserve, near Brocket, Alberta, this Indian woman is hanging meat to dry in the age-old fashion of her ancestors.

carved from wood. Knife blades were beaver teeth and, rarely, stone or native copper. Hides were dressed with tools made of bone. Skin and fur bags, decorated with quill-work, were owned by every family.

Summer travel was by means of spruce bark canoes. In winter snow-shoes were used, and toboggans drawn by the women.

The northern Indians had little political unity. Families were held together by common needs and the ties of kinship. Their economy was uncertain and there were periods of plenty and periods of famine. In times of famine, families were sometimes forced to leave behind their aged and infirm members while they searched far and wide for foods.

EXPLORERS AND TRADERS

The pre-European plains Indians roamed the prairies on foot, in small bands, transporting their few possessions on their backs. They had one domesticated animal, the dog. They were peaceful because they had little occasion for fighting. This manner of life was considerably modified by the introduction of firearms and the horse.

Firearms came from the fur-traders, both French and English, who penetrated the country from the east. The first European settlement in the prairie provinces seems to have been made by Thomas Button, an English sea man, who spent the winter of 1612-13 at Port Nelson, on Hudson Bay near the mouth of the Nelson River.

Slowly, during the seventeenth century, French fur-traders, from the colonies to the east, made the acquaintance of Cree and Assiniboiné Indians and prevailed upon them to trade their furs, particularly beaver.

The Hudson's Bay Company was established in 1670 under a charter granted by Charles II of England, granting the Company fur-trading privileges over what is now the whole of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, the southern half of Alberta, a large portion of the Northwest Territories, and other districts as well.

The French fur-trading Compagnie du Nord was founded in 1676, but their trade with the Hudson Bay Indians was not profitable because the English opposed their use of the waters of Hudson Strait and fur transport by land was difficult and expensive.

In 1682 the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Nelson, now York Factory, at the mouth of the Nelson River, on the west shore of Hudson Bay. This post frequently changed hands between the French and English in its early days but it still survives as a historical site, although the Hudson's Bay Company discontinued trading there in 1958. In 1688 the Hudson's Bay Company erected Fort Churchill at the mouth of the Churchill River.

During the year 1690-92, Henry Kelsey, a young Hudson's Bay Company employee, lived for two years among the Indians, probably the Assiniboines, and with them travelled far inland by canoe and overland until he reached the prairies where he saw many buffalo. Kelsey, who "delighted much in Indians Company being never better pleased than when he is travelling amongst them", adopted the Indian way of life during his travels, and tried to act as peace-maker among the warring tribes in order to secure a greater supply of furs for the Company.

The years up to 1713 were marked by competition and small wars between rival fur traders, French and English. The French had control of the Hudson Bay area from 1697 to 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht gave the Bay to Great Britain.

Guns, ammunition, blankets, brandy, knives, hatchets, kettles, tobacco and mirrors were among the articles bartered for beaver skins, according to a "standard of trade" which was later published.

In 1732 Sieur de la Verendrye, his three sons, his nephew and fifty Frenchmen established a post, Fort Charles, on Lake of the Woods. During the following 17 years, despite incredible difficulties, disappointments and privations, a chain of posts was established reaching far up the Saskatchewan River.

Fort Maurepas was situated at the Mouth of the Winnipeg River. Fort Rouge was built in 1738 where Winnipeg stands today. Then Forts Dauphin, Bourbon and La Reine went up and, farthest west, Fort la Corne was built below the forks of the Saskatchewan River. La Verendrye died in 1749. He had explored the country as far west as the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.

These forts increased the competition for furs to such a degree that the Hudson's Bay Company, whose trade had been largely by sea, ordered sixty inland voyages beginning in 1754. However, during the war between France and England, 1756-1763, the French forts were deserted or destroyed and the Indians then took the bulk of their furs to the Hudson's Bay Company forts at Hudson Bay.

In 1774, the Hudson's Bay Company built Cumberland House on Cumberland Lake, their first interior post. About this time new traders were making their appearance in the West and in 1783 they united to form the North-West Fur Trading Company with headquarters in Montreal. Rivalry between the two Companies began immediately.

INTRODUCTION OF THE HORSE

In 1754, Anthony Henday of the Hudson's Bay Company had travelled inland from York Factory with a party of Assiniboiné Indians to explore the country and to increase the fur trade. He wintered with the Indians somewhere between the North Saskatchewan and Red Deer Rivers. He became acquainted with the Blackfoot, who were already excellent horsemen and skilful buffalo hunters.

It is not known just when the Indians of the Canadian plains first obtained horses. The Spaniard Coronado introduced them to the Indians of the southern plains in 1541. The horse, with few carnivorous enemies and in a favourable climate, increased and spread rapidly. Stray and escaped horses formed wild herds. As soon as the southern Indians learned the usefulness of the horse, they made raiding expeditions to capture them and the northern tribes procured horses from their southern acquaintances.

The Indians soon realized that the horse could carry burdens and haul loads. The owners could move freely, own more property, move more rapidly from place to place, and make long journeys. Hunting was easier. The horse became a medium of exchange.

Intertribal relations changed. Raiding parties set out to capture horses in order to increase their bravery. Raiding and the buffalo hunt rivaled each other in excitement and popularity. As horses and firearms became more readily available, fighting between the various tribes increased in scale and frequency. Glory, prestige and the control of the buffalo migration routes were the principal objects.

EXPANSION OF WHITE INFLUENCE – 1800 TO 1870

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by great activity on the part of the two rival fur companies who sent out explorers and built forts, and by the beginning of white settlement.

The Earl of Selkirk purchased the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to a large tract of land in the Red River district on June 21, 1811, for the consideration of ten shillings and certain agreements and understandings contained in an indenture. In 1812 he founded an agricultural settlement of Scottish immigrants on this land. The colony suffered at the hands of the North-West Company who feared the inroads of a settled community on the fur trade.

In 1817 Lord Selkirk negotiated with Indian tribes of the Chippewa and Cree nations for the surrender of their claim to this same tract of land. For the surrender an annuity of one hundred pounds of good merchantable tobacco was to be delivered to each of the two nations. The surrender was made to King George III and was signed by Lord Selkirk and five Indian chiefs.

The North-West Company united with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 and the "license to trade" for the latter embraced all the territory east of the Rocky Mountains. North-West Company employees released after the merger settled in the Red River Colony, as did the Metis (offspring of the unions of the Scots, English and French fur traders with Indian women). By 1840 the settlement numbered 4,500.



Two Indians in full dress on horseback.

Photo — National Museum of Canada



A Plains Indian Chief.

Photo — National Museum of Canada.

George Simpson became governor-in-chief of the new Hudson's Bay Company's territories. A more settled policy prevailed in the North-West after it was freed of the burden of competition of two rival companies.

Pemmican, made from buffalo meat by the plains Indians, was an important item of food in the early trading posts. When the American frontier began to reach westward there was wanton slaughter of buffalo to supply robes, the meat going to waste in great quantities. By 1862-63 the supply of buffalo meat had diminished greatly and "the buffalo had receded from the forts" (in Canada).

The swift westward expansion of the United States had other direct and indirect effects on the Indian population of Canada. American traders ventured into the country looking for furs and horses and laden with "firewater" in payment. They provided the western Indians with arms and ammunition as well, which led to increased warfare among the tribes.

After Confederation in 1867 the new nation took immediate steps to include the Hudson's Bay Company's domains within its boundaries. In 1869 by agreement the Hudson's Bay Company ceded its territorial rights to the Crown in return for a cash compensation of three hundred thousand pounds to be provided by Canada. Rupert's Land and the old North-West Territories were then transferred by Great Britain to the Dominion.

William McDougall was appointed the first governor of the new territory but was stopped at its border by the agents of a "provisional government" just set up in the Red River settlement. The Metis, under the leadership of Louis Riel, feared the encroachments of an agricultural society on their fur-trading culture. This uprising was suppressed without bloodshed by troops under the command of Col. Garnet Wolseley and Riel fled to the United States. The Province of Manitoba was formed in 1870.

THE TREATY ERA

The plains Indians were so uneasy at the influx of settlers that they frequently obstructed the surveyors and immigrants. They were also concerned at the visible diminution of the buffalo herds and feared the future. In the fall of 1870 the Indians of Manitoba applied to the Hon. A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, to enter into a treaty with them. The Government authorities wished to secure the extinction of Indian title in Manitoba and the Territories and in the summer of 1871 negotiations were held at Stone Fort on the Red River.

For Treaty No. 1, dated August 3, 1871, the Federal Government was represented by Indian Commissioner, Mr. Wemyss Simpson, the Hon. A. G. Archibald and the Hon. James McKay. McKay's mother was an Indian girl and his father an Orkneyman. He was originally in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and later became a trader on his own account. He thoroughly understood the Indians and possessed a tremendous influence over the various tribes. The Chippewas and Swampy Crees surrendered a large tract of land in southern Manitoba.

By Treaty No. 2, dated August 21, 1871, the same Federal representatives secured a surrender from the Chippewa Indians of a tract of land in southwestern Manitoba and a small portion of southeastern Saskatchewan.

Treaty No. 3 relates mostly to Ontario but a small portion of southeastern Manitoba was ceded to the Government on October 3, 1873, by this treaty.

By Treaty No. 4 (the Qu'Appelle Treaty), dated September 15, 1874, the Treaty Commissioners, Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Hon. David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and W. J. Christie, retired factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, obtained a surrender from the Plains Cree and Chippewa Indians of a tract of land comprising most of southern Saskatchewan.

Treaty No. 5 (Lake Winnipeg Treaty) was concluded September 20 and 24, 1875, at Berens River and Norway House. Treaty Commissioners Hon. Alexander Morris and Hon. James McKay obtained a surrender of 100,000 square miles in northern Manitoba from the Chippewa and Swampy Cree Indians.

By Treaty No. 6, dated August 23 and 28, and September 9, 1876, at Forts Carlton and Pitt and Battle River, the treaty Commissioners, Hon. Alexander Morris, Hon. James McKay and Hon. W. J. Christie, obtained a surrender from the Plains and Woods Cree and Assiniboine Indians of 120,000 square miles extending across central Saskatchewan and Alberta.

By Treaty No. 7 (Blackfoot Treaty) dated September 22, 1877, at Blackfoot Crossing, the Treaty Commissioners, Hon. David Laird and James F. Macleod, Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, obtained a surrender from the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Stony and Sarcee Indians of the southern part of Alberta.

The treaties were based on the first treaty made at Stone Fort in 1871, with some minor differences in the terms due to different local conditions.

The terms of the treaties may be summarized:

1. A relinquishment of the Indian right and title to the lands from Lake Superior to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.
2. The Indians had permission to hunt in the ceded territory and to fish in the waters thereof, as long as it remained the property of the Crown.
3. Annuities of five dollars a head to each Indian, man, woman or child, were promised in perpetuity, and an annual payment of \$25.00 was promised each chief, and \$15.00 to each councillor or head man. The chiefs and head men received suits of clothing and the chiefs received British flags and silver medals.
4. Lands were allotted to the Indians, to be set aside as reserves for homes and agricultural purposes, which lands cannot be sold or alienated except with the consent of the Indians and for their benefit. In Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5 these lands were reserved to the extent of 160 acres per family of five, but in Treaties 4, 6 and 7 one square mile was reserved for each family of five.
5. Agricultural implements, oxen and cattle to form the nuclei of herds were given to the Indian bands on a once-for-all basis, in order to help them become adjusted to agricultural pursuits.
6. Provision was made for establishment of schools on the reserves for the instruction of Indian children.

For the purposes of administration the treaty area was divided into two Superintendencies, that of Manitoba including Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 4, and that of the North-West Territories including Treaties 5, 6 and 7. Edgar Dewdney was appointed Chief Superintendent and was required to reside in his superintendency so that he could meet the Indians and supervise his deputies from the field. Under the Superintendents were the Indian Agents who had charge of particular districts and the bands living therein. These Agents lived in their respective districts.

There was a considerable mixed blood population in the North-West at treaty time, namely the French and Scotch Metis. Many of these people of mixed blood owned their own farms and lands. They were confirmed by the Government in their land holdings and continued farming and trading for a livelihood. A large group was entirely identified with the Indians, living with them and speaking their language. They were recognized as Indians at treaty time and were taken into the bands among whom they resided. A third group lived by the pursuit of the buffalo and the chase. They posed a problem which was not entirely settled until some years after the treaties were concluded.

In 1862, after a massacre of white settlers by Indians in Minnesota, a number of American Sioux Indians took refuge in the Red River settlement. They refused to return to United States territory despite the efforts of both American and British officials and were living quietly in tents when the Province of Manitoba was formed in 1870. The new settlers found the Sioux very useful employees on their farms. The Sioux tried to support themselves by hunting, trapping and fishing, and they made repeated requests for reserves where they might take up farming.

Reserves were eventually allotted the Sioux, at Oak River and Bird Tail Creek, in Manitoba and at White Cap, Wahpaton and Standing Buffalo in Saskatchewan. They settled down quietly and missions

were established. They numbered about 1500 in 1874. When war broke out between the Sioux and the American Government the Sioux in Canada refused to join their kinsmen, saying they meant to live peacefully and were grateful for the kindness of the Canadian Government. In 1876 another reserve was granted them at Oak Lake, Manitoba, allowing 80 acre to each family of five.

The same year a large body of American Sioux under the famous Chief Sitting Bull fled the American troops and took refuge in Canada. Efforts were made to have these Indians return to their reserves in the United States, particularly as the buffalo was rapidly nearing extinction and they would have no means of subsistence. They refused to go at first, but between 1880 and 1884 most of them recrossed the border. The remainder were settled on the Wood Mountain Reserve, Saskatchewan.

The North-West Territories' Act in 1875 created the North-West Territories, as detached from the Province of Manitoba, and the Hon. David Laird became the first Governor.

The North-West Mounted Police arrived to maintain law and order in the West in 1874 and established Fort Macleod. It is of interest to note that the Prairie Indians were indirectly responsible for the adoption of the scarlet tunic by this now world-famous force. In organizing the Force Colonel Robertson Ross had insisted on the scarlet tunic of British Cavalry on the grounds that the Indians, by reason of their experience in the past with the British Army, had come to trust the "red coat" explicitly, whereas their attitude towards blue or grey was not so fortunate. The N. W. M. Police maintained a high standard of discipline and fairness and soon brought to a close the state of disorder that existed in the Territories. With the elimination of the whisky traders the plains Indians, particularly the Blackfoot, became more prosperous in a comparatively short space of time.

The Indians realized they would have to find some new means of subsistence and many of them favoured turning to agriculture. In 1877 the newly organized North-West Council passed an ordinance for the preservation of the buffalo but was powerless to stem the tide of destruction, most of which took place south of the border. In the winter of 1878-79 there was much suffering from want of food on the western Prairies because of the scarcity of buffalo. Some Indians were reduced to eating mice, gophers and their dogs. The Federal Government supplied liberal relief and tried to get the Indians settled on reserves with the utmost speed. The Indians expressed great willingness to receive instructions in farming. Crowfoot, head-chief of the Blackfoot, was a man of unusual sagacity and influence. He saw the need of adopting a new mode of life and he and his people co-operated with the Government to bring it about.

EARLY MISSIONARIES

ROMAN CATHOLIC

The first missionaries in the Prairie region were the French Jesuits, Father Coquart, 1742, and Father de la Morenerie, 1750, who accompanied the la Verendryes on some of their western journeys.

On the advice of Lord Selkirk the Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher was appointed to establish a mission at St. Boniface on the Red River in 1818. Father Dumoulin and Guillaume Etienne Edge accompanied him and built a combined house and chapel on land granted by Lord Selkirk as a seignior. Father Provencher organized a school and conducted it in the chapel. Efforts were made to teach agriculture to the Indians, such as sowing wheat and using a plough. Father Provencher wished to train Indians for the service of the Church and in 1829 Angelique Nolin undertook the management of the first school for girls to be organized in the district.

In 1833 an experimental school was established at St. Paul's, later St. Eustache, to train the Indians in agriculture. The school was conducted by Rev. Georges Antoine Belcourt who later prepared a grammar of the Chippewa language.

Rev. Father Thibault made missionary journeys from the Red River to Edmonton where he established Ste. Anne's Mission in 1842, and he penetrated as far west as the Rocky Mountains in 1843.

The first group of Oblate Fathers came to St. Boniface in 1845 in response to an application for assistance sent to the head of that Order by Bishop Provencher. Fathers Aubert and Tache were the first to arrive. Father Alexandre Tache succeeded Bishop Provencher in 1853.

Father Bourassa went to Ste. Anne's Mission in 1844, and Father Lacombe went to Edmonton in 1845. He devoted his life to pioneer missionary work and had a tremendous influence on the western Indians.

The Grey Nuns of Montreal organized mission schools at Lac Ste. Anne in 1859, at Isle a la Crosse in 1860, at St. Albert in 1862, at Fort Providence in 1867, and at Lake Athabaska in 1874.

Father Scollen, O.M.I., was the first Irishman to enter the priesthood in the far West and was working among the Blackfoot at the time of the signing of Treaty 7.

ANGLICAN

The first Anglican missionary was Rev. John West, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, who was sent to the Red River colony in 1820. With the encouragement and aid of the Church Missionary Society he organized a school in 1822. Several Indian boys attended this school and were instructed in agriculture and other subjects. Rev. E. T. Jones (1823) and Rev. W. Cochrane (1825) succeeded him and by 1828 there were four schools in operation and a number of Indian children were maintained and educated there. The school founded by Mr. West was carried on as a boarding school under the Rev. John MacCallum from 1833 to 1849 when Bishop Anderson, the first bishop of Rupert's Land, assumed the responsibility.

In 1833 another school was built 12 miles away by Rev. Cochrane, to instruct the Saulteaux in agriculture. Joseph Cook, son of an English father and a Cree mother, was the first schoolmaster. The school progressed with an average attendance of upwards of thirty pupils.

A Cree mission was organized at The Pas in 1840 by Henry Budd, an Indian convert of Mr. West. In 1846 mission stations were established at Lac la Ronge and Isle a la Crosse by James Settee and James Beardy, also Indian converts.

Bishop Anderson died in 1864 and was succeeded in office by Rev. Robert Machray, whose diocese extended from Ontario to the Rocky Mountains and from the Arctic Ocean to the International Boundary. Before he left office he had organized this vast territory into nine dioceses.

Outstanding among early Church of England missionaries were Archbishop James Hunter who started missionary and educational work in Alberta in 1858, and William Carpenter Bompas who from 1865 until 1890 devoted his life to the missionary service of the Indians of western Canada.

In 1879 Bishop McLean opened Emmanuel College in Prince Albert for the training of Indian helpers for the Church of England.

METHODIST

The Wesleyan Methodist missionary work among the western Indians commenced in 1840 when Rev. James Evans, accompanied by Rev. Henry Steingauer and Rev. Peter Jacobs, Indian converts, went to Norway House. These missionaries made journeys into remote areas of Saskatchewan and the North. Rev. Evans is notable for the invention and perfection of the Cree syllabic characters and the printing of religious books in that medium. Missionaries of the various denominations adopted the system for their own use. A written language was thus given to the Indians from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains.

Rev. Robert T. Rundle was the first missionary to reach the Edmonton area. From 1840 to 1848 he lived among the Indians, accompanied them on their hunting expeditions, preached to them and taught them. In 1853 he was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Wolsey who worked among the Crees, Stonies and Blackfoot.

The first Protestant mission school was organized at Whitefish Lake in 1863 by Rev. George McDougall and his son, Rev. John McDougall. Rev. Mr. Steiner, resident missionary, assisted in the work

and the first teacher was Mr. Williston. In 1864 the McDougalls established a school at Pagan, and Rev. John McDougall organized the first schools in the south of Alberta. A school was established in Macleod in 1877. The schools were attended by all children of school age in the area and also by some who came from a distance and boarded in the neighbourhood. The children of Indians, mixed bloods and white settlers were admitted and the schools were kept up by the local inhabitants.

Rev. George McDougall, after fifteen years as resident missionary among the Plains Indians, lost his way on the prairies in the winter of 1876 and was found lying dead in the snow. He had done valuable work in paving the way to the negotiation of Treaty No. 6, by removing the feeling of discontent among the Indians over whom he had great influence.

PRESBYTERIAN

Rev. John Black went to the Red River settlement in 1851 and in 1866 the congregation of Kildonan on the Red River subscribed \$500.00 to send Presbyterian missionaries to the Indians farther west. Rev. James Nisbet and Rev. John McKay were sent out as missionaries to the Cree Indians of northern Saskatchewan.

THE TRANSITION ERA

The Indians of Manitoba and the Territories requested the treaties because they had become alarmed at the lessening of their supply of fresh meat – the buffalo – and the threatened arrival of settlers on the lands which had been their hunting territories. The most sagacious of their leaders foresaw as clearly as did the white leaders that they must seek a new food supply and incidentally a new mode of life.

After the conclusion of the treaties, the Federal Government determined to carry out the provisions thereof with the utmost exactitude, with a view to making the Indians ultimately self-supporting. The setting aside and surveying of reserves was commenced as soon as possible in each district.

By 1879 the Indians in Manitoba were nearly all settled on reserves and were engaged in agricultural pursuits with Government aid in the way of seed in addition to the implements and animals included in the treaty promises. These Indians had been accustomed to living on fish and small game. There were difficulties to be ironed out, such as dissatisfaction with reserves, which the Government remedied as soon as possible, and complaints about the quality of food issues, the fault of unscrupulous contractors or of shipping conditions. When these problems were brought to the attention of the Government they were corrected at the earliest opportunity.

Farther west, in the Territories, conditions were not so satisfactory. The Indians in Treaty 7 had not yet been settled on the reserves and the buffalo failed to appear. Hunger and starvation were rampant and many were kept alive by Government issue of rations, through the Indian Agents or the North-West Mounted Police. When possible, work was required in return for food, so that the Indians would not become entirely dependent on the Government for subsistence, without making some effort for themselves. Rations consisted of beef, flour, tea and tobacco.

Steps were taken to supply the Indians of Treaty 7 with cattle to start their own herds, as the country was considered ideal for cattle ranging. The cattle had to be very carefully looked after during the first few years in the area until they became acclimatized to the rigorous winter weather. The cattle were branded before issue to the Indians, a large corral and chute being used for this purpose.

In the area of Treaties 4 and 6 the buffalo had not entirely disappeared and the reserves were settled with some advance made in agriculture. However, while conditions were somewhat better than in Treaty 7, a considerable amount of food had to be issued by the Government.

Farming agencies were set up on the various reserves for the dual purpose of instructing the Indians in the art of agriculture and of raising enough produce to provide food for the Indians in the vicinity. Labour was to be done by the Indians thus providing them with employment and instruction.

Canadian and American Indians still crossed the border freely and there were clashes between them. Government officials on both sides attempted to settle them on their respective reserves. In the fall of 1879 it was reported that buffalo were very plentiful along the Milk River south of the border. The Blackfoot under Chief Crowfoot followed and hunted the buffalo for more than a year. The Indians who remained behind and those in the northern districts were maintained by the Government. The hunters stayed in American territory until the summer of 1881 when they returned impoverished and without their horses, which they had sold to the unscrupulous traders.

The American Indians attempted to keep the buffalo south of the border by starting prairie fires along the boundary line. In 1882 the presence of United States troops stationed south of the boundary line to prevent the encroachments of the Canadian Indians also discouraged the buffalo from crossing into Canada.

In 1883 the Canadian Pacific Railway was pushing westward and many Indians were employed in construction work which brought them some money.

In 1881 large numbers of Crees and Assiniboines had assembled in various localities in Saskatchewan and only dispersed to hunt the buffalo which were coming North in numbers for the first time in some years. Chiefs Big Bear and Poundmaker, who was described as having talents far beyond the ordinary, were fostering a defiant attitude among their followers. Big Bear refused to settle on a reserve.

A disturbance occurred on Poundmaker's reserve in 1884 when the farming instructor refused to issue rations to an able-bodied Indian unless he worked for them. The Indian assaulted the instructor. A Sun Dance was in progress and there was a large assemblage of Indians in an excitable state. Many of the young men sympathized with the insubordination and became so unruly that it was necessary to send for the Mounted Police. The Police arrested the troublemaker. Poundmaker himself had been working hard and successfully at farming ever since the disturbance of 1881, but Big Bear and his followers still refused to select a reserve, preferring to roam about and visit other reserves.

NORTH-WEST REBELLION

By the middle of the eighteen-eighties, many of the Manitoba Indians had settled down to an agricultural life and were making good progress in the attempt to be self-supporting. The Indians of the Territories also seemed to be making this adjustment rapidly and willingly. They generally expressed satisfaction at the way the Treaty stipulations had been carried out and with the extra help they had received in times of need. Few of the Indians shared the hostility which the Metis displayed at this time toward the Government and which flared into open rebellion in 1885.

The Indians who became involved in the Metis rebellion did so as a result of inducements held out to them by the leader of the insurgents, Louis Riel, who had returned from the United States. The wandering tribes, not yet settled on reserves, particularly Big Bear's following at Frog Lake, were the most easily influenced into rebellion. The Indians in southern Alberta would have no part in the rebellion, being restrained by their chiefs, notably Crowfoot and Old Sun. The Indians of the Edmonton district were excited but committed no overt acts. The Indians in Manitoba and southern Saskatchewan remained loyal despite many false representations designed to lead them into rebellion. Those of the Duck Lake district in Saskatchewan took a prominent part in the uprising.

During February, 1885, many meetings were held in the vicinity of Batoche, Saskatchewan, but the excitement was confined to the Metis at that time. On March 17, Gabriel Dumont, one of Riel's lieutenants, visited One Arrow's Reserve and invited the Indians to attend a meeting the next day. A band of Metis commanded by Louis Riel took the Indian Agent, J. B. Lash, prisoner on March 18, and he remained a prisoner in their camp until later released by Canadian troops under General Middleton on May 12.

The Indian bands at Duck Lake joined the rebels following Lash's imprisonment. After the rebels had repulsed a small body of Mounted Police at Duck Lake, the Indian bands in the vicinity of Battleford also joined in the rebellion.



"Legend of the burning buffalo grass", a ceremony held by the Blackfoot at the first full moon in June.

Photo — National Museum of Canada



Stoney Indian Tepee.

Photo — National Museum of Canada

Inspector Payne, of the Battleford Agency, was murdered by his charges on March 30, although they had told him a few days earlier that they stood on the side of the Government.

There was wanton destruction of provisions, cattle, tools, implements and seed grain. Frog Lake was the scene of the worst atrocities, the massacre of Mr. John Delaney, farming instructor, and Messrs. Charles Gouin, Thomas Quinn, George Dill, Bernard Tremont, Gowanlock and Gilchrist. Although the rebels had promised that the clergy would be safe, two Roman Catholic priests, Fathers Fafard and Marchand were among those murdered at Frog Lake.

The rebellion was put down by Canadian troops under General Middleton and General Strange, and Louis Riel was taken prisoner on May 15. Eight Indians suffered the death penalty for the Frog Lake murders, namely, Wandering Spirit, Miserable Man, Round the Sky, Manachoas, Napahase, Iron Body, Little Bear, Man without Blood and Ikteh. The leader of the uprising, Louis Riel, was hanged at Regina, November 16, 1885.

The short-range results of the uprising, as far as the Indians were concerned, were bloodshed, destruction and interruption of progress. The long-range results were the strengthening of the loyalty of the Indians to the Sovereign, and the end of open unrest among the less settled elements.

PROGRESS (1885 – 1900)

In 1886 the principal plains chiefs were invited to visit the provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the following accepted: Crowfoot, of the Blackfoot, with his councillor, Three Bulls; Red Crow of the Bloods, with his councillor, One Spot; North Axe of the Peigans; Atakakoop and Mistowasis of the Crees in the Carleton district; and Osoup and Kakawistaha of the Crees of Crooked Lake. They received a great deal of attention in the eastern cities and returned home delighted with all they had seen and the kindness shown them.

The half-breeds were offered land scrip, that is certificates which could be exchanged for land, and many of those who had at first taken treaty with the Indians withdrew in order to participate in the land scrip. None were allowed to withdraw from treaty unless the Indian Agent was satisfied they could support themselves without Government assistance. Some had to return to treaty but the majority were able to make their own way.

Border raids and horse thefts by the American Gros Ventres and the Canadian Blood Indians persisted despite a mutual compact to abstain from stealing horses. In 1886 a party of six Bloods, who had crossed the American boundary line in a retaliation raid, was exterminated by the Gros Ventres. Then a large band of horses belonging to Red Crow, a Blood chief, was stolen by the American Indians. The Indians were in a state of great excitement but were persuaded not to seek vengeance. The Canadian Indians, under an escort of the Mounted Police, crossed the border to ratify a treaty with their enemies. Red Crow's horses were returned and a treaty of peace was made between the Canadian and American Indians, which was adhered to, putting a stop to horse-stealing across the border.

A Select Committee of the Senate, in 1886, studied the natural food products of the North-West Territories and the best means of conserving and increasing them. Attempts were made to grow wild rice in several districts and streams and lakes were stocked with suitable fish.

The Indians who had taken part in the North-West Rebellion were gradually taken back into treaty as they showed their willingness to settle down on reserves and take up agriculture. The governmental policy was to teach the Indians of the plains to become self-supporting through farming or the returns from hunting and fishing. The lakes and rivers were becoming depleted of fish and the small game was decreasing in number, so that the Indians depended more and more on agricultural products. For many years the Government had to supply provisions of flour, beef, tea and bacon to supplement the food raised by the Indians. The herds increased in size from year to year, and sheep and pigs were raised. The extent of the cultivated land increased and more grain and other foods were raised, subject to such hazards as droughts, unseasonable frosts and prairie fires. As the quantity of food raised on the reserves increased,

the issue of rations was reduced. Changes came about in the manner of living, the blanket being discarded in favour of the settler's clothing, and wooden houses replacing the tipis of nomadic days.

Chief Crowfoot died in 1890. This great leader, with marked influence over his people, in their most critical period, contributed much to their future as Canadian citizens. He counselled his people to abandon their old warlike ways and wandering life and settle down to a peaceful agricultural existence, and his leadership shortened the transition period for the Blackfoot nation. His influence lasted long after his death for the chiefs who succeeded him endeavoured to carry out his deathbed instructions.

Regulations were made to control the amount of fish taken from Lake Winnipeg and other waters from which the Indians had derived much of their sustenance. The use of pound and trap nets was prohibited.

Saw and grist mills were set up at various centers and in 1894 an irrigation ditch was constructed on the Blackfoot Reserve, followed by an irrigation program for several other reserves.

In 1895 some 500 refugee Indians from the State of Montana were repatriated to their reserves in the North-West Territories. They had left Canada after the troubles of 1885. United States troops escorted them to the international boundary line where they were met by detachments of North-West Mounted Police and taken to the respective reserves to which they had formerly belonged or expressed a desire to be attached.

In 1898 a re-organization of the work of the Department of Indian Affairs took place. The system of having farming instructors on reserves, grouped into agencies under the supervision of Indian Agents, was necessary in order to settle the Indians on reserves, instruct them in farming and provide assistance in the way of implements, seed and provisions to maintain them until they could learn to provide for themselves. The Regina office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gradually grew in status until a large staff was employed. There were two inspectors of Indian reserves in the North-West Territories and one in Manitoba.

In 1898 the Indian Commissioner's office at Regina was abolished and his headquarters removed to Winnipeg. Business was conducted directly with head office. Three inspectorates were created in Manitoba and three in the North-West Territories. The Inspector's office at Winnipeg was abolished, the Commissioner attending to the work formerly conducted there.

In June and July 1899, Treaty 8 was concluded with the Cree, Beaver and Chipewyan Indians of northern Alberta and a part of northern Saskatchewan. The annuities and gratuities were similar to those of the earlier treaties and reserves were set aside for the use and benefit of these Indians.

At the time of the signing of the treaties the dress and manner of life of the Indians of the Prairie Provinces was in the ancient style of untold generations. By 1900 most of the Cree had adopted mixed farming, their houses were modern and well furnished and they received little in the way of rations from the Government. The reserves of the Blackfoot nation were not well adapted to raising crops because of their elevation and proximity to the mountains, but they were suitable for stock-raising, and the Bloods, Peigans and Sarcees were beginning to build herds and tend them well. Efforts were made to expand this industry so that these tribes might become self-supporting in the near future.

EDUCATION

Prior to 1870, when Manitoba was made a province, the education of the Indians of the Prairie Provinces was entirely in the hands of the missionaries – Roman Catholic, Church of England, Methodist and Presbyterian.

Each treaty contains a clause promising the establishment and maintenance of schools on reserves as soon as the Indians settled thereon and expressed the desire to have schools.

Before the conclusion of Treaty 1 in 1871 two schools were in operation in that district, on the St. Peters and Fort Alexander Reserves. Within the limits of Treaty 2 the only school was at Fairford. These

schools were conducted by the Church Missionary Society of England, but the school at St. Peters received the sum of \$200 per year from Indian funds, by arrangement with the Superintendent General.

Beginning with the fall term of 1873 the Government paid salaries of \$300 per annum to the teachers of each of the three existing schools, and grants were authorized to schools at Rossville Mission, Nelson River and Norway House.

Government policy was to provide and pay for a teacher as soon as the Indians on any reserve erected a suitable building for a schoolhouse. Grants were \$300 per annum when the average daily attendance was 25 pupils or more, and the rate was \$1.00 per month per pupil for schools with smaller attendance.

The Church Missionary Society operated schools on The Pas and Cumberland Reserves for some years prior to the conclusion of Treaty 5. In 1876-77 school grants were authorized to Little Saskatchewan, White Fish Lake, Roseau River, Black River, Lake Manitoba and St. Albert Reserves.

The establishment of schools progressed so slowly that in 1879 a sum of \$100 was authorized towards the erection of a schoolhouse on each reserve in the North-West Territories on which the band was prepared to send the children to school.

In 1879 Nicholas Flood Davin reported on the advisability of establishing industrial schools in the Prairie Provinces, following a study of similar schools in the United States. He recommended that missionary schools be utilized by the Government for industrial school purposes, after making a contract with the religious body in charge of the school. He suggested that only four industrial schools be established at first.

In 1884 three industrial schools were opened, at Battleford with Rev. Thomas Clarke as principal, at Qu'Appelle with Father Huguenard as principal, and at High River under Father Lacombe. The school at Battleford was open to thirty Indian boys, and other schools were authorized to take 10 or 12 girls in addition to the 30 boys, the girls to be supervised by Reverend Sisters.

The object of the industrial schools was to impart a practical knowledge of husbandry and mechanical trades. The children were instructed to read and speak English, and in the elementary studies pursued in schools generally.

The day schools were beset by many difficulties. Most of the reserves were so remote from white settlements that it was difficult to obtain teachers. The parents frequently did not understand the purpose of an education and sometimes the children were insufficiently clad to attend school. Despite the difficulties several day schools were conducted with marked success. By 1885, in addition to the three industrial schools, 44 day schools were in operation with an attendance of 1300 pupils.

The placing of farming instructors on various reserves for the purpose of instructing Indians in agriculture was an early form of adult education. There were 26 such educational agencies by 1885 and they had accomplished remarkable results.

By 1887 there were five boarding schools which received per capita grants from the Department and were run under the auspices of one or another of the religious denominations. These schools were intended to serve as feeders for the industrial schools, and were believed to be more beneficial to Indian pupils than the day schools because attendance was assured. It was recommended that the younger pupils be sent to the boarding schools and the older ones to the industrial schools.

Industries taught the boys included agriculture, printing, carpentering, blacksmithing and shoemaking. The girls received instruction in sewing, cooking, washing, ironing, tailoring, knitting, shirt-making, dairy work, laundry work and general housework. These trades were considered to be of great value to the graduate pupils when they returned to their reserves.

A policy was inaugurated of apprenticing graduate pupils to settlers for further training in agriculture and the trades. When a boy returned to the reserve and took up a location of land he was able to build his own house and have some simple furniture which he had made while attending the industrial

school. He was allowed cattle and implements, and a matrimonial alliance was arranged, when possible, for both male and female graduates.

An Order in Council, passed in 1892, outlined the arrangements to be made between residential schools (including industrial and boarding schools) and the Government. The buildings were to be the joint responsibility of the Government and the Management, the Government to furnish materials for repairs, the Management to perform the labour. Books and appliances for educational purposes were supplied by the Government. Maintenance, salaries and expenses were paid by the Management out of the per capita grant. Rates of per capita grant were fixed for each school. Parents of pupils were not charged for their children's attendance at such schools. The Management agreed to conform to the rules of the Indian Department as laid down from time to time and to maintain a certain standard of instruction in the schools, also dietary and domestic comfort. Inspectors and Officers of the Indian Department might at any time inspect and report on the residential schools.

This Order in Council governed the manner of financing Indian residential schools until 1957, the amount of the per capita grant varying with local circumstances and economic conditions.

During the 1890's schools were closed in favour of residential schools which were nearly all denominational schools at that time. Due to the nomadic habits of the Indians it was difficult to get regular attendance at the day schools. The desire of the Indians for education was in proportion to their contacts with non-Indians, and in the nomadic groups little desire and little need was seen.

However, by 1909 the trend of thinking regarding education was that the conditions which led to the desirability of residential schools over day schools had changed greatly. Changes were made in the manner of managing day schools, particularly in securing a more qualified class of teacher with the skill and tact to make school life interesting and agreeable to Indian children, and to enlist the intelligent sympathies of the parents. A mid-day meal was provided and where distances were far and weather often harsh, conveyance between home and school was supplied. Salaries of teachers were raised and small rewards were offered the pupils for regular attendance and progress. Footwear and clothing were issued to needy pupils and the regular classroom exercises were enlivened by games and simple calisthenics. Instruction was sometimes given in plain sewing, knitting and mending.

Industrial and boarding schools became essentially the same in work and were called residential schools. Carpentry and husbandry remained the chief practical subjects for boys and general housekeeping for the girls.

In response to requests from the churches for larger grants for residential schools, formal agreement was made in 1911 between the Department and the Management of residential schools. The per capita rate varied with local conditions. School buildings were improved where necessary to provide better accommodation and sanitary arrangements.

By 1918 the course of studies prescribed for the provincial public and separate schools was strictly followed in the day schools so that Indian pupils could be prepared for entrance examinations.

In 1923 Governmental policy was expanded to care for all the capital expense at Indian residential schools, releasing the finances of the missionary societies and orders for better instruction, food and clothing. Grants were offered to graduates of Indian schools showing academic promise, who wished to attend high schools, universities, business colleges and trades schools.

During the 1930's increasing emphasis was placed on manual training and vocational instruction in all types of Indian schools. Materials for gardening and dressmaking were supplied to teachers of day schools and the new schools were built with basement accommodation for manual training. In 1938 a mink farm was started at the Morley Residential School in Alberta.

During the Second World War difficulty was experienced in securing qualified teachers and attendance of Indian pupils due to so many lucrative employment opportunities. In the years immediately following the war the schools were filled to capacity.

In 1948 the policy was adopted of educating Indian children in association with other children wherever and whenever possible. Agreements were negotiated with school boards and provincial Departments of Education for training Indian pupils in provincial schools. Attendance at such schools increased yearly.

Audio-visual aids were introduced in 1953 in the form of motion pictures, radio and phonograph. Two films specially produced for the Indian population were "Conservation of the Caribou" and "Tom Longboat, Canadian Indian World Champion".

Welfare teachers were appointed to isolated reserves, their duties to include the dispensing of medicines, registration of births and deaths, and organizing of community activities.

The supervision of Indian schools is now jointly carried out by regional inspectors of Indian schools and provincial school superintendents. Election of school committees, composed of band members, to assist in the management of school affairs on the reserve, was introduced in 1957. These committees have done much to stimulate community interest in schools. They encourage better attendance, care of school property, and the promotion of community cultural and recreational activities.

In 1957 a new system of financing government-owned residential schools was approved. Day schools are being built, as well as some residential schools, the latest being the Assiniboia Residential School in Winnipeg for Manitoba pupils in the higher grades.

A system of scholarships was introduced in 1957 as an incentive to outstanding Indian students. The scholarships are awarded on a regional basis to students for university, technical and agricultural courses, teacher training, nursing, social work, music and art. They are offered in addition to other means of assistance to Indian students, which vary from the payment of tuition fees to full maintenance, according to the parents' ability to contribute to the costs of education of their children.

The residential schools at Brandon, Dauphin, Portage la Prairie, Prince Albert and Edmonton assumed a new role in 1959 when they became hostels for residential pupils who receive their education in nearby non-Indian schools. Teacher-counsellors are employed to organize the study program of such pupils, supervise their studies, give guidance, keep student records and act as liaison between Indian and non-Indian schools. This special assistance is particularly useful to pupils who come from remote isolated districts where there is little contact with non-Indian culture. The teacher-counsellors help the students keep up with their academic studies and make the necessary emotional and social adjustments to an urban environment. The transition from residential school to hostel is not yet complete at Brandon, Dauphin and Prince Albert.

In the field of adult education upgrading classes have been provided at Edmonton, Regina and Prince Albert. These courses are offered to Indians from eighteen to twenty-five years of age who, having left school, require special training to prepare them for industry and life away from their reserves. The course consists of an eight-month program of academic, social and occupational orientation, with permanent employment as the final goal.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1900 - 1960)

At the turn of the century most of the economy of the Indians of the Prairie Provinces depended upon agriculture and stock-raising. The leading crops were wheat and oats and some roots and vegetables. The Treaty 7 region was chiefly adapted to stock-raising and in 1900 there was still sufficient wild grass to feed the stock. Fishing was carried on in Lake Winnipeg and its tributaries and there was hunting in the northern parts. Some Indians in northern Manitoba were employed in lumbering and saw-mills. Seneca root, used for medicinal purposes, was an important wild crop, the price ranging from 25 cents to 35 cents per pound. Thirty pounds a day could be gathered by an industrious picker.

A market for Indian ponies was starting in the East, particularly Toronto, and although the prices paid were low, an important source of income was provided. This stimulated the interest of Indian ranchers in improving their stock, both cattle and horses.

Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces in 1905. Settlement expanded and the natural supply of hay and pasture was curtailed for the Indians so that it became necessary to cultivate feed for the growing herds of livestock. The Indians set to work to fence pasture-fields, erect better shelter for the stock, provide more hay, practice selective breeding and in general to take better care of their herds when they realized their market value.

The policy of the government was to help the Indians help themselves, and as more and more Indians became self-supporting through farming and ranching, rations were gradually withdrawn. Proceeds from the sale and surrender of Indian lands were applied to the purchase of modern implements and other improvements, and instruction in modern agricultural methods was continued by the Government concurrently with instruction in farming in the schools. Assistance was given by the Department to ex-pupils of residential schools to enable them to establish themselves on the soil immediately after graduation. Each farmer had to break at least 25 acres the first year.

With the advance of settlement, game and fur animals steadily receded, and legal restrictions were imposed to preserve as far as possible the fish and game resources.

The war of 1914-18 had its impact on Indian life. There were many voluntary enlistments from the reserves and large cash contributions to war funds. The women did fine knitting and sewing and on some reserves operated branches of the Red Cross. Indian soldiers were notably good as snipers, showing remarkable patience and marksmanship. It was claimed that Indian snipers did much towards demoralizing the entire enemy system of sniping. They recorded their prowess by notching their rifles for every observed hit. Lance-Corporal Norwest, from near Edmonton, who enlisted with the 50th Battalion of Calgary, was one of the foremost snipers of the Allied Forces and was officially credited with 115 observed hits. He carried a special rifle fitted with a telescopic sight. He was killed by an enemy sniper in August 1918 while trying to locate a nest of sharpshooters. Joe Thunder of the 128th Battalion was awarded the Military Medal for a dramatic feat of arms. He was separated from his platoon and surrounded by six of the enemy, each of whom he bayoneted although severely wounded himself.

Another result of the war was the Greater Production Campaign whereby larger areas were put under crop on the reserves. Land which could not be worked by the Indians was leased by non-Indians. Government Greater Production Farms were established on various reserves in the Prairie Provinces for the raising of wheat and cattle. Indian veterans were given Soldier Settlement benefits which helped establish many of them in farming.

During the post-war years agricultural methods on Indian reserves steadily improved as did yield and income. The quality of the stock became second to none in western Canada. By 1929 there was an annual yield of 1,250,000 bushels of grain from the reserves.

Petroleum and natural gas were discovered in commercial quantities in the Turner Valley, and attention was turned to the Blood, Stony and Sarcree Reserves in Alberta. Leases on the Stony Reserve were issued by the Department under the Petroleum and Natural Gas Regulations of 1929. These leases and permits were granted to oil companies which carried on geological research and drilling operations on the reserves and the returns from the leases were a valuable source of income for the Indians. In 1950 one of the nine wells drilled on the Stony Plain Indian Reserve was brought into production. Leases and permits were so much in demand on other reserves that the income from these contracts totalled more than \$750,000 per year which was credited to band funds. The next year there were 16 productive oil wells on the Stony Plain Reserve. In 1952 oil production was obtained from wells on the Sturgeon Lake, Samson's and Blood Reserves in Alberta, and leases were granted for exploration for oil on several reserves in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Agreements were made in 1929 between the Dominion and Provincial Governments that the Indians would have the right of hunting, trapping and fishing for food at all seasons of the year on all unoccupied Crown lands and any other lands to which they had a right of access.

The depression years brought increasing encroachments by white trappers on the hunting grounds in the northern part of the provinces formerly used by Indians only. Some non-Indian trappers used the

illegal means of poison, which interfered seriously with game conservation. In Saskatchewan the Department worked out a plan of leasing trap-lines to Indians from the province. Beaver colonies were established on several reserves in Saskatchewan in 1935 and the beaver increased.

In 1938 arrangements were made with the Manitoba Government by which 160,000 acres of marshland were placed under the control of the Department to be developed as a muskrat ranch. Conservation and control of an adequate water supply and strict protective supervision were the methods used. The construction of canals, dams and dikes provided employment to many bands. Four fur conservation areas were developed in northern Saskatchewan in co-operation with that province.

The Department adopted the plan of purchasing trap-lines in Alberta from non-Indians when they conflicted with the Indian interest. A fur rehabilitation program was originated for the purpose of providing a sustained standard of living for those Indians who live by trapping. The project took the form of developing muskrat-producing areas by water control methods, restocking selected beaver preserves and managing furbearers thereon, acquiring registered trap-lines on provincially-owned lands, and through these three channels providing assistance to the provinces in management and production of fur resources in districts where the population is predominantly Indian.

In 1945 the plan of acquiring and registering trap-lines was extended over the entire northern part of Manitoba, taking in the hunting lands of over 2,000 Indians. The trap-lines were organized with traditional methods, placing responsibility for the development of his area upon the individual Indian.

In 1949 formal agreements involving a substantial contribution of federal funds were negotiated with Manitoba and Saskatchewan and arrangements for trap-line management were worked out with Alberta. The first two agreements provide that the over-all administration of fur conservation is effected on the advice of a three-man advisory committee, one of the members representing Indian Affairs. All muskrat rehabilitation projects in Manitoba were brought under the scope of the agreement and a similar agreement was obtained with Saskatchewan. A large live beaver transplanting program began under which beaver were successfully transferred to new locations.

A program of timber wolf control was instituted in Saskatchewan and Manitoba when these animals became so numerous as to be a serious menace to the caribou, moose, elk and deer. Commercial fishing was developed in northern Saskatchewan. Saddle Lake was stocked with millions of whitefish roe, and the goldeye fisheries in Lake Claire were supervised and commercialized.

The depression period of the 1930's was characterized, in the Prairie Provinces, by recurrent droughts, soil drifting, plagues of cutworms and grasshoppers and consequent crop failures. It was difficult to increase herds because the cattle were needed for food.

The coal mine on the Blackfoot Reserve was an asset to the Indians during the years of crop failure. They subsidized the industry from band funds, using the money to develop, repair, and purchase additional machinery.

In common with Indian citizens of other Provinces the Indians of the Prairies made a notable contribution to the Armed Forces during the Second World War. There were 762 enlistments, including 29 Indian girls who enlisted in the Army and Air Force. Military Medals were awarded A/Sergeant Thomas Prince, Canadian Infantry Corps, of Clandeboyne Agency, Manitoba, and Private George Thomas Monroe, Canadian Infantry Corps, of Duck Lake, Saskatchewan.

Lieut. David Greyeyes of Muskeg Lake, Saskatchewan, enlisted with the Saskatchewan Light Infantry as a private in June 1940, and rose from the ranks to a commission. He served in Western Europe and Italy, and was awarded the Greek Military Cross III by the Greek Government for gallantry in support of the Greek Mountain Brigade during the Italian campaign. When the war was over he settled down as a farmer on the Muskeg Lake Reserve and married Flora Greyeyes, who had been a member of the Women's Division of the R. C. A. F. In 1959 Mr. Greyeyes joined the Indian Affairs Branch as an Agency Assistant and in 1960 was promoted to Agency Superintendent. Fellow Indian war veterans, Noel J. Penay and Vincent Bellegarde also joined the Indian Affairs Branch as Agency Assistants in Saskatchewan. A fine example of the type of service rendered by Canadians of the Indian race in war and peace.

Under the Veterans' Land Act an amount up to \$2,320 could be granted to an Indian veteran who settled on Indian reserve lands, the money to be used for specified purposes such as the purchase of live-stock, machinery and building materials.

In 1949 the harvesting of wild rice was started in Manitoba. The first year 64,000 pounds were harvested, selling for \$24,000; and it was proposed to expand this project in the future. In 1957 a sum of \$13,000 was netted from gathering frogs.

The output of forest products such as pine and spruce lumber, pulpwood, posts, rails, Christmas trees and nursery stock has increased on the reserves. Royalties from 90 producing oil wells and the sale of oil and gas rights and rentals yielded a revenue in excess of \$2,000,000 in Alberta in 1959. Roads are under construction on reserves and houses are being improved. The installation of electrification and telephone systems and the drilling of wells are well under way.

Agriculture is still a major source of income in the Prairie Provinces especially in the southern parts. However, increasing numbers of Indians are seeking employment far from home, in the beet-field, oil industry, construction work, lumber camps and agriculture off the reserves.

Indian agricultural committees have been organized on some reserves as a means of arousing greater interest in farming and farm management problems. Annual agricultural conferences in Alberta and Manitoba have met with increasing success, with the Indian executive responsible for the planning, organization and conduct of the meetings. To an increasing extent Indian farmers and ranchers have been using the services of provincial Agricultural Representatives and District Agriculturists.

The eligibility of Indian farmers for assistance under a number of Acts of Parliament pertaining to agricultural development has been established and they share in the benefits in the same way as non-Indians.

Under an agreement with four Indian bands in Saskatchewan in 1963, the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration undertook to construct and operate two PFRA community pastures totalling some 45,000 acres, with first priority for grazing going to Indian cattle owners. Similar developments elsewhere are being considered.

Indians have become members of producers' and consumers' co-operatives in a number of areas, particularly in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and in some cases have formed their own co-operative organizations. They are encouraged to participate with non-Indians in this form of organization if they so desire, and to form organizations of their own if they have acquired the necessary knowledge of co-operative principles and practices and have made provision for adequate supervision and management.

The current trend in agriculture is towards livestock raising in preference to grain farming. A rotating herd program under which a basic herd is lent to the participants who keep the natural increase, has been expanded. Some Indians who have become established under this plan are enlarging their herds by purchasing additional female stock through revolving fund loans.

Indian handicraft production has been increasing in recent years, and this trend is expected to continue in response to a pronounced upsurge in public demand. Of particular interest are the activities of the Northern Handicraft Co-operative Association Limited, which was formed at La Ronge, Saskatchewan, in 1960 under provincial auspices, with a membership of some 135 Indian and Metis women, of whom approximately 100 are Indians.

Since 1959 control over the expenditure of their revenue funds in whole or in part had been transferred to an increasing number of bands in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Revenue moneys are derived mainly from the lease of lands and interest paid on capital funds. The band council draws up its annual budget, similar to that of any non-Indian municipality, and then makes its own detailed expenditure within the bounds of the budget.

POPULATION

The Indian population of the Prairie Provinces at the beginning of the 19th century is estimated to have been about 30,000. The tribes were decimated by a smallpox epidemic in 1836 and there were

recurrent epidemics until 1858. In 1900 the population was approximately 22,500 but thereafter a steady increase is shown. As of December 31, 1965 there were 84,549 Indian residents in the Prairie Provinces. This figure may be broken down into 29,957 in Manitoba, 29,996 in Saskatchewan and 24,596 in Alberta.

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